

THE *of Aodd*
CHARACTER
OF THE
PARLIAMENT.

Commonly called the

Rump, &c.

Begun November the 3^d. in the Year 1640.

With a short ACCOUNT of some of their
PROCEEDINGS.

*Ille nefasto te posuit die
----- in nepotum*

Perniciem, opprobriumq; Pagi.

HORACE.

*Hinc usura vorax, avidumq; in tempore fœnus,
& concussa fides, & multis utile Bellum.*

LUCAN.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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THE
CHARTER
OF THE
PARLIAMENT



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PARLIAMENT

OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND

IN THE

SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

KING GEORGE THE THIRD

IN THE YEAR 1772

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PREFACE.

THERE are few Men of Judgment, Candor, and Impartiality, who will not allow a Government, consisting of King and Parliament, to be the best Constitution in the World. France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Sicily, and some other Kingdoms, had once this Advantage, but unfortunately lost it; some by Faction, others by being Conquered; and others, by a National depravity of Manners, joined to the Ambition of Princes, and the Intrigues of their Ministers. We of these Islands are now left the last, who enjoy this Blessing in any Perfection; and we may still preserve it pure and entire, if we can but retain some Degree of the Virtue of our Ancestors. But we should be careful what Persons we choose to Represent us in Parliament; for, if (according to the vulgar Maxim in the Schools) *Corruptio optimi est Pessima*, a CORRUPT Parliament would then, of all Evils in Government, be the Greatest; and exceed the worst Tyranny in a single Person. An absolute Prince might be Cruel, Rapacious, Covetous, a Dissipater of the Publick Treasure, an Enemy of Religion, and it would be very bad: But all this would be nothing, when compared to a Mob of such Tyrants, most of them with the same Dispositions, and every way like that greater one, only the more provoking, as in their Persons they would be more contemptible, nor is this a Thing not to be supposed. Our History furnisheth us with an Instance of a Parliament of that kind; which is here undertaken to be described to the Publick, in one unmixed View; both
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because this hath not been yet done by any one, that I know of; and also, that a Prospect of it in this manner, may possibly give our Country-Men, a full Notion, of how great Consequence it is to them, to be extremely cautious whom they trust at any time to be their Representatives. Here they may have before their Eyes, what Abuses a CORRUPT Parliament is capable of. The Writer, in putting his Thoughts together on this Subject, has set himself a Rule to keep Religiously to the History of the Men and the Times, and not to indulge himself, or the Reader, in charging any Character too much, or deviating from the Truth, to make the Story more agreeable. The Facts and Characters are all of them to be found, either in my Lord Clarendon, Whitlock, Rushworth, Sir Philip Warwick, Ludlow, Hobbs, or some other Writer of those Times: But many Passages are omitted for the Sake of Brevity, or through Forgetfulness, or because they did not exactly fall in with the general Design: And such as are mentioned, are not always considered in the order of Time in which they happened. True it is, some few of the Things here imputed to the Parliament, were not their immediate and direct Act; but, which is much the same thing, though not all done by them, they were all done in their way, in treading their Paths, and by a Power derived from them. The greatest Scelerates had either their express Orders, their Approbation or Example and Authority, to plead for the worst Crimes then committed.

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BT what Means and Degrees these Pretended Patriots arrived to the height of Wickedness, and begat so great Irreverence towards their own Persons and Characters, is here endeavoured to be explained, and may possibly be instructive to those, who may not elsewhere have observed the Series of their Transactions; nor the Period, when properly they became dignified with the Title of the Rump; which was, when they had subverted all the honest Ends and Purposes of Parliaments, and when they sate by Virtue of their own Choice and Power, and not by the Free Election of their Country.

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THE
CHARACTER
OF THE
PARLIAMENT,

Commonly call'd the *Rump*.

THIS famous *Parliament*, which Sate
so long, did so much Mischief, and
involved the Three Kingdoms in
Guilt and Misery, met at *Westmin-*
ster, the 3d of *November*, 1640. Through
the Misrepresentations of those about the King,
his Majesty unluckily thought fit to part with
the preceding *Parliament* upon ill Terms, and

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before he had Time to know them, which was thought a very impolitick Step, to say no worse of it. They were Men of Moderation, and zealous for the Publick Good, and were the Reverse of their Successors; who never ceased, till they drew upon these Nations infinite Calamities, and Disrepute, and even Contempt upon the very Name of a House of COMMONS.

A M O N G many illegal and more weak Things, then committed in the Administration of Affairs, none could be worse judged, than that Precipitate Act of the Court; which struck, with Concern and Indignation, all who had a due Attention to his Majesty's Service, and Regard for the Constitution of the Realm. But it was the Subject of Joy and Triumph to the Men of turbulent Spirits; to the Enemies of the Church, and of Peace; to those, who long'd for nothing more than to throw the State into Confusion, in Hopes to repair their shattered Fortunes, to acquire Wealth and Power; or to glut their Malice and Revenge. And it must be owned, the Success answered beyond their most extravagant Imaginations: A great Part of their Purposes, and even Wishes, having been fatally effected, and many of the chief Managers having crept into high Stations, purloined Titles, and amassed immense Sums, who, from their Birth, Merits, or Qualifications, could reasonably have aspired no higher, than to the meanest Offices.

FROM

FROM Motives, and by Persons, such as these, the Elections could not but be carried on very irregularly. The Factionous were Men of Craft and Industry, and stuck at nothing, to carry their Point. Returns were made of Persons to serve for Places, where their Names had never been heard of before ; and, where Bribes and Artifices, to debauch the Minds of the Electors and the Returning Officers, would not prevail, Violence succeeded. Neither was this the worst of the Case. When the House of Commons met, and by those and other Means, the Majority was clearly on the Side of the *Faction*, they turned out, and put in whom they thought proper, without any sort of Modesty, or the least Attention to the establish'd Rules of the House, or to the manifest Justice of the Cause. Thus very many, against the Consent, and without the Knowledge of their Country, assumed to themselves the Title of its Representatives, which yet was not ordinarily objected to them as any Crime ; so much did their Conduct, as Members of the House, obscure the Reproach of their having dishonourably intruded into it.

IT is true, a great Part of this foul Management, in point of Elections, happen'd in Process of Time, when they were grown Old and Hardened in Corruptions of all Kinds ; when they had lost the Remembrance of Right

and Wrong; but it is also true, that even in the Infancy of their Power, the same Spirit prevail'd, and they set out with the Assurance of those, who had abandon'd all Decency and Remorse. The Difference was, it was Passion, and Rage, and Madness in the Beginning: Afterwards, it was phlegmatick, impudent Villany, and Corruption.

YET it ought always to be remembred, that there were Men of that House, of as great Worth, Integrity, and Abilities, as have sat in any Parliament whatever: Men, who were Proof against all Temptations of Gain, and not to be over-awed by Threats, or the Torrent that then raged. But these were out-numbered by People of different Views, different Principles: The Majority was a Compound of Pretenders to Zeal against Popery, of real Atheists, of professed Republicans, of weak and ignorant Slaves to the Managers, and above all, of wretched Mercenaries, who prostituted their Conscience, and sold their Country for their Daily Pay.

THE Leaders of this Band of Conspirators against their Country, deserve to be delivered down to Posterity, with all possible Marks of Infamy: But because Descendants may atone for the Wickedness (as they often degenerate from the Virtue) of their Ancestors, the Names of those Persons shall at present be passed over
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in Silence. Yet at the same Time, it may not be altogether unseasonable to sketch out the Characters of some few of the most Notorious, that we may look back and see, what Sort of Persons those were, who had both the Will and Power to *impoverish* the *Publick*, and enslave their Native Country; that if for the future any *others* should unhappily arise with the same Dispositions and Talents, the Resemblance might be observ'd Time enough to prevent a Parallel in the Story every Way.

ONE of these was a *Gentleman*, well known in those Times, both on the Score of his Parts, which were competently adapted to the Mechanical Part of Business, and also of some Disgrace he had undergone, from the late Men in Power; which, when that Power devolved into other Hands, gave him a Pretence to set up for a *Sufferer*. He spoke in the House with great Readiness, and at all Times with a certain appearing Frankness, in his Manner of expressing himself, that was not disagreeable. No Man spoke more than he, of Concern for the *Publick*; no Man had the Publick less at Heart; but it serv'd his Purpose, as it furnish'd him with popular Topicks for Harrangues, and was likewise a convenient Prey for him and his hungry Creatures. He was a bold Undertaker in Business; not easily discourag'd by the Difficulty of the Work, and never to be put out of Countenance at the Foulness of it. But his
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chief Excellence consisted in the dexterous Application of Lies to his several Purposes; and those he could frame extempore, and with that undaunted Assurance, they were of great Service to him at particular Seasons; although the too frequent Use of them, and his laughing at Truth, openly and wantonly, contributed no less to the Discovery of his Defect in Judgment, than his snatching at all Opportunities to get Money, betrayed the Weakness and Impotence of his Mind. However, his Influence in the *House* was great: From the Sense of what pleased himself best, he knew how to gain others; and he was the better qualified for the Times, and for the Part he had to act, being wholly void of Shame, and as entirely undisturbed with any Fumes or Principles of Virtue, Honour or Religion; as free in himself from all Approaches towards Compassion or Humanity.

A *second* of these, was a *Gentleman* of good Extraction, liberal Education, and of some Learning. From the Company he had kept in his younger Years, and from his Manner of Life, he had contracted an inveterate Malice against the Church, and imbibed early Principles against Monarchy: Though no Man went farther than he, in the Support and promoting of the most lawless Acts of Tyranny, when he had his Share of Power. He had been bred up to the Profession of Arms, and had got
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some Reputation that Way, which he quickly lost, by the unfoldierly Defence and *Surrender* of a *Town* of Importance: For this ill Conduct he was accused, and might have Suffer'd, if he had not been befriended by the *General*, who lived to repent his good Nature, to a Man, never very sensible of Favours or Benefits. That Gentleman betook himself afterwards to another kind of Life, and got one of the *Seals* into his Possession, which he used to ill Purposes enough, but always with good Manners, which was peculiar to him. Not being well fixed in any Form of Government, he ran into many wild Schemes, and was rather a Builder of Common-Wealths, than a Member of any one. It was conjectured he had a Tincture of Enthusiasm in his Composition, which, if true, might account for Part of his Life, and perhaps be thought some Extenuation of several Things he had been guilty of, to the Prejudice of his Country, to which, perhaps, few Men really wish'd better, than he.

ANOTHER of these, and, it may be, one of the most outrageous of the whole *Sett*, was an *Officer* of mean Parts and Parentage; a meddling, blustering Fellow, determined, and very diligent: Conceited, undertaking, incapable of offering any Reasons to convince others, or of comprehending Reason, so as to be persuaded himself. By the extraordinary Favour of the *General*, to whom he had been *useful* in
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several Capacities, he had made his Way, from being a *Subaltern*, in a few Years, to one of the highest Posts in the Army; and in every Post, he still shewed great Uneasiness, as if the Place were not big enough to hold him, and that he could not breathe, until he got higher; which made him press and bustle, and affront every Thing in his Way. He was servile in his Applications to those who could advance him, and no Man endeavoured to make his Court more than he, or did it with a worse Grace. So that his Ambition was unmeasurable, but misbecame him: And it was observed of him, by one of the same Side, who was no bad Observer of Men, That *he was a Clown in fine Cloaths*; intimating, how uncouthly any thing of Grandeur sat upon him.

WHEN the *House of Commons* became filled with *Soldiers*, he got himself returned to serve for a Borough, and acted the same Part in the House, he had done out of it; that is, he was restless in his Motions, and brutal in his Opinions; and tho' he often appeared more busie, than he really was, he never could appear more Brutal. If at any Time an unjust Proposition, that might lay whole Countries waste, was to be made in the House, he was so apprehensive of its failing, he would run every where to Summon the *Posse*, and take upon himself the Office of *Muste-Master-General* of the Party: And then, if by great Accident, the House seem-
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ed inclined to come into an Act less ill-natured than usual, it would put him out of Patience, and he would shew the utmost Disquiet, being unable to keep his Countenance, or to sit still in his Place. Ingratitude was so much a Part of his Character, it was looked upon with the Indulgence People allow for natural Infirmities, which are not to be cured. His Understanding was confused and muddy; so he never troubled his Head about Notions, or Schemes, or Laws of Government; all which he resolved into *Force*. Consequently his Politicks, as his Morals, were those of a *Dragoon*, to oppress and Plunder where he could; which he performed with the most punctual Discipline, without Bowels, or Mercy.

FROM him a good deal of the Spirit of the Officers of those Times may be collected: Altho' they differed in many other Particulars, yet in those of Rapine, Plunder, and Inhumanity, they seemed to agree very well, and to be uniform in their Principles, if we may so call them.

A fourth of the *Ephori* was the then *Sollicitor-General*, a Man of all others the least amiable: He was descended of an antient Family by an indirec^t Line; was extremely formal, proud, and morose; conversed with few, and had a certain pedantick Manner of declaring his own Opinion, and expressing a Contempt of that of all others; which, perhaps, sometimes impos-

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fed upon those, who knew no better than himself, and might have gained him the little Repute he had, of Skill in his Profession. And that which was very particular, his Self-Sufficiency was so entire, that whatever he advanced, he would believe to be right; and he would advance absurd Arguments in Point of Law, upon a Supposition of their receiving a Sanction from him: By which Means, he would wrest the Law in a very shameless Manner. The rest of his Brethren of the Law he surpassed in ill Nature, Sowerness, and Inhumanity: Yet his predominant Quality was Insolence; which shone in every Act and Motion of his Life, in his Air, his Gestures, his Words, and particularly in his Looks: All which rendered him not less insupportable in Business, than he was in his own Family, where he was an absolute Lord and Tyrant. No wonder if a Person of his Frame, was a very evil Instrument in tumultuous Times, and especially when Bribery ran highest; since it was well known, no Man's Ears, and Hands, and Heart, were more open than his, to Gain.

THERE was indeed, another of the same Fraternity, but of a different Temper, who had his Hands as deep as any Man, where there was Room, either for his Advice or Assistance, in most Acts of Violence, and barefaced Corruption. He had the Appearance of Gentleness in his Carriage, and had been formerly looked upon

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upon as no ill-natured Man. In the more innocent Part of his Life, he had associated himself with Persons of other Principles, than those of his new Friends, and had carried those Principles, at least as high as any Man; but no sooner did he change Sides, than he seemed to change Nature; and, as if he had taken every Man of those, whom he deserted, for a living and lasting Reproach to him, he prosecuted them with an hostile Fury, and at their Expence, made himself as acceptable as he could, to his new Companions; to whom he had devoted himself, Soul and Body. Insomuch, that Justice was never worse administered, nor Partiality more openly *exalted on the Bench*, than in his Time. The Fact was, His inordinate Desire to gain Credit with the Party, and Money by that Credit; being inflamed by a malign Hatred of his old Friends, he behaved himself like a mad Man, even in private Causes, wherever the Interest of any one of the Party was concerned: And after he had gone thro' most of the Drudgery his Masters expected from him, he was found out by them to be a Man but of ordinary Abilities, and one proper to be Disavowed as they should see Occasion.

THERE was another Lawyer of the Party in the House, of a much better Repute than either of the former. He was a Man of Order in his Profession, had made a good Figure at the *Bar*, and had sate in former Parliaments

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with Approbation ; but being no good Judge of Men, and not always steady, he was made Use of to serve Purposes he did not intend, and concurred with Persons, and in Things, he did not like. His Name in the Beginning, was of Use to the Managers, altho' he did not long continue to promote their Schemes. And here, once for all, it may be proper to be observed, that many contributed with all their Might and Main to the first Confusions, who afterwards became sensible of their Error, and would have retreated ; but they found it was very difficult to wear off bad Company, and that all, who have a Power to do Ill, have not the same to do Good.

BUT far from any Remorse was a *Yorkshire* Man, of as eminently bad Qualities, as any one whatever : He was opinionative, and a Boaster of his Talents, which were neither quite so bad as some thought them, nor in any Degree so good as he fancied ; but might have passed for tolerable, if he had been content to have meddled only with Things within his Sphere. But his Ambition was active, and he procured an Employment, to which he was in no Sense equal, having neither Clearness, nor Courage, nor Fidelity, nor Uncorruptedness, nor Skill enough to disguise his notorious Defect in all the former ; so he became a very early rank Sinner, and stands foremost in the List of the most guilty of those Times. With a Design to de-

deceive others, he was out-witted himself, and by an odd Turn, was accused by those, with whom he had been an *Accomplice* in many Crimes: When he was to plead for himself, he grew * *distracted* between *Pride* and *Fear*, and *talked confusedly of the Trust reposed in him*, and of his honest Intentions; which was such Language for him to use, it provoked the general Indignation of all Men. He was committed to the *Tower*, and condemned, and the *Circumstances* were such, that the *immediate Hand of Almighty God* could not but appear in it to all Men, who knew his *Nature, Humour, and*
TRANSACTIONS.

ANOTHER was a Gentleman of the *West* of *England*, of a good Estate, But no otherwise remarkable, than as a thorough Slave to the Party, of which he imagined himself a Governour. He was a stupid, though frequent Speaker in the House; but what made him heard with the better Attention, he would clap together a Parcel of such odd Blunders, as would provoke the gravest Men to Mirth: Then he was always to be counted upon for a sure Man; he had moreover a venomous Dislike of the Church, which was a Merit; and though to chuse, he would have been glad to be a Gainer by an unjust or cruel Proposition, yet rather than

* Lord Clarendon.

than not be engaged in any Thing of that Nature, he was ready to serve, according to the best of his Talents (which was Noise) upon the Foot of a Volunteer.

I had almost forgot the *Speaker* of the House, who was a superficial proud Man, and marvelously delighted with the Ensigns and Parade of his Place; of which he was said to be tolerably capable, by having applied himself to the Study of the Records, and Journals of Parliament. Besides, his was a gainful Post, and he loved Money to Excess; so the poor Man continued to keep it, amidst many Changes, and under several Masters, until he, and the Mace, were both turned out together, and became the Derision of all People, who had seen to what Uses they had both been put.

I cannot omit taking Notice of two others, who, tho' of no Consequence in themselves, yet oftentimes, by either having Propositions put into their Mouths, or by seconding some of the others, made a sort of a Figure in the House. One of these was a *Justice of Peace* for *London* and *Middlesex*; who, from the Business of that Post, which he exceedingly liked, both for the Business and the Gain, had passed a great Part of his Time among Strollers and Pick-pockets, and thence contracted some Similitude in their Stile, Manners, and Honesty; which enabled him to be very vexatious, where
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his Authority was Supreme, and troublesome elsewhere, by an impertinent Zeal, under the Direction of a weak Head. Yet such was the Indulgence of the Party towards a fast Friend, they frequently carested the Man, and sustained his Follies, (wherein he abounded) at the same Time that he was their Jest and Sport, even to a Proverb.

THE other was one of those we call Half-witted: He was absurd and bold in Discourse, but, in every other Way, a compleat Coward. He was at first very much cherished by them, because he would say Things no Body else cared to say; and because when they had a Mind to tire the House out, they could set him to talk Nonsense, which he would pour forth upon any Subject, with great Ease, and Earnestness, and Eloquence, for Hours together, and yet without leaving the Hearers a Possibility of guessing at his Meaning, and even without understanding himself, what he would be at; which, tho' a trifling Circumstance, was often of singular Service to them.

THERE were likewise several others of Note, who had a considerable Share in the Transactions and Wickedness of the Times, and *One* particularly (of a higher Orb) to whose Power, Craft, profound Dissimulation, implacable Temper, and Avarice not to be satiated, was owing as much Mischief, as to any one Man in that,

or any other Age. But considering how miserable a Spectacle he afterwards became, being haunted by a *Demon* in his *Bosom*, and having out-lived a very good Understanding, it would be pity to say more of him in this Place. The other Persons already taken Notice of, were some of the most persevering Sinners, and are sufficient to give us a View of the Genius and Disposition of the Heads of an Assembly, which one would think, could hardly be paralleled in the Histories of any Time or Country.

BESIDES these, they had a Number of Hirelings, constant in Attendance, and prepar'd to call out, *The Question, The Question*, when ever it was necessary, with Clamour, to drown the Arguments of their Opponents, and by Numbers, to carry what they intended.

THEY had also, besides their Numbers, many Artifices to render the House as pliant as they could wish. Several of their own Members at once, they got confined and imprisoned; many they threatned, and frighted from attending; and in the Height of their Glory, they bore Contradiction with an Impatience, as if it were a Crime to controul them. This brings to Mind a Story, among several others, to exemplifie both their Cunning, and the Pride of their Hearts. The House was in a warm Debate of an Affair, which the Managers had much at Heart, and carried at length, to the irreparable Damage of their Country; but it
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met with vigorous Opposition; particularly from a *Gentleman* of great Reputation, much esteem'd every where, and terrible in the House to those People. In the Argument of that Day, he happened to drop an Expression, that serv'd them for a Pretence of Clamour against him: This Expression, one of their Members, who was always willing to indulge his Spite, and merit a Place or Pension, took Notice of, and complained of its Irregularity: For which the other, he said, ought to *withdraw*; which begate another long Debate; The Conclusion was; After much Passion from the angry Men, which shewed how extremely offensive that Person was to them, he was ordered to *withdraw*, and to be committed to the *Tower*; whereby they inspired new Audacity into their Friends, they were revenged on an old Enemy, they got rid of a troublesome Guest, and endeavoured to warn others, not to provoke their Vengeance and Injustice.

No sooner did the House meet, than it was obvious enough with how little Temper, Wisdom, or Justice, they were likely to proceed. The Nation required Peace, that Men's Minds might be calmed; therefore the Party ran into Violences. They began with *Impeachments*, in order to which, a *Committee* was appointed to find out, or rather to make Misdemeanors and High-Treason: Nor were the *Committee* wanting to their Business: Informers were encouraged, Papers search'd, Words tortured, and

A Committee for
Secret Affairs.

Impeach-
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Actions misrepresented ; and after a most laborious Enquiry, they brought forth a real Justification of the Persons accused. However, they had Strength enough in the House thereupon, to carry the *Impeachments*, and they still gave out, they had further Discoveries to make, until some, who saw their Aim, and knew they had Power to compass it, thought it high Time to provide for their own Safety, by not trusting their Lives and Honour in the Power of Men, who thirsted after the Blood of the greatest Persons in the Kingdom, and who had no Honour to lose in the Pursuit.

IT cannot be contended, but that Impeachments are a very proper Resource against the Power of Ministers and Favourites. It is one of the most glorious Remains of our Constitution, that Criminals, how subtle soever, and however protected by an easie or a vicious Prince, may be reached in a Parliamentary Way ; which Method, in some Cases, is the best, and perhaps the only one, of coming at them. For Example, A Privy Counsellor adviseth his Master to enter into a *War*, without Provocation, destructive of the Trade and Interest of his Country, and contrary to National Faith confirmed by solemn Treaties : A *Parasite* contrives a *Project* to enrich the *Minions* of a Court, at the Expence, and to the Ruin of many Families ; a *Trustee* for the *Publick*, becomes an *Advocate*, and *Champion* for the *Pillagers* of it ; or a *Minister* of State lays a Scheme, or signs an
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Order, that shall famish Thousands of innocent People. In one, or all of these and the like Cases, where perhaps the Guilty cannot be affected in the common Course of Law, and yet deserve to be signalized by exemplary Punishment, as eternal Monuments of CORRUPTION, and likewise of National Justice, it is the Duty of the *Representatives* of the *Commons* of *England*, to Impeach the Offenders ; and it is the highest Breach of Trust in them, not thus to exert the Rights of the People, when call'd upon by such enormous Crimes, and by the *Sufferings* of their Country-men.

BUT on the other Hand, the Priviledge of the Commons to Impeach, ought not to be prostituted on slight Pretences, or to gratifie the Spleen of this or that Man, or Party. And in the Case before us, of those *unhappy Impeachments*, which created so much ill Blood in the Nation, and promoted so fast the ensuing Mischiefs, they were not only ill-tim'd, and fatal in their Fruits, but also wholly without Grounds, unless to have served ones Prince and ones Country, ought to have been imputed for Crimes.

THE Persons accused could not be thought Guilty, even by their Adversaries, of betraying their Trust, of sacrificing the true *English* Interest to that of Foreigners, or of any Sort of *Bribery*, *Corruption*, or *Rapine*. But their Crimes were, They were faithful Servants of the Crown, and loved their Country: They

were known to be averse from all Schemes of private Gain, and abhorred the Thought of any Innovations, either in Church or State. It therefore became the Interest, as it was the Inclination, of the governing Party, to remove out of their Way such Obstacles to their Designs; and because there was not the least Ground in Point of Law, to proceed upon against them, they fell upon *Impeachments*, as the most artful Way to conceal the Weakness of their Accusation, and at the same Time to raise that Ferment, which was so necessary to their further Views.

BUT neither could *Impeachments*, extraordinary as they were, serve their Turn: They had Recourse to Bills of *Attainder*, which are a summary Way of robbing Men of their Honours, Estates, and Lives, and which are seldom justifiable, excepting against those, who maintain the Equity of that extraordinary Method of Arraignment.

DURING the Dependence of the *Impeachments* and Bills of *Attainder*, there were usher'd into the House with great Solemnity, Accounts of *Plots* against the Government, and formidable Stories of Invasions, on purpose to alarm the Timorous, to enflame the Angry, to afford a Pretext for augmenting the Forces, the Command whereof, was to be in their Hands, and to multiply Taxes for the Benefit of the Advocates for the Cause, and the Creatures of the principal Men,

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THOSE Distempers and Violences of the *Parliament*, naturally inspired such, as were to be the Sacrifice, with a Resolution to defend themselves. So the *Civil War* commenced, Civil War. which was manifestly the Effect of the Rage and Wickedness of the Managers in the Parliament, and of the Craft and Treachery of *many about the King*. And it was not deny'd by some of them, that they intended from the Beginning, to drive Things to these Extremities, which they said were necessary, to make the *King a great King*; though it was easily discerned, their Designs were to make him their Slave, to alter the Frame of the Constitution, to govern by Force and a Standing Army, and to Oppress and Tyrannize over their Fellow Subjects.

WHEN they had got an Army and a Civil War, or Rebellion to their Mind, it was far from being their Desire to make a speedy End of it; which was visible from many Things, particularly from this, That they issu'd out no Proclamation of Pardon to those, who should lay down their Arms. Nor was it their Interest; the War, or the Pretence of it, was to bring about many *great Things* for them. And because they apprehended, that an Army of *Englishmen* would hardly support them in what they projected, they invited a Body of *Foreign* Foreign Army. Forces into the Heart of the Kingdom; and these they kept a long Time after the Business was done, for which they were pretended to be call'd in; 'till at length, not out of Compassion

passion to the Country, although heavily Taxed, for the Maintenance of the two Armies, and severely oppressed by them, but purely, because they had no further Work for them, and were now able to walk alone, they dismiss'd, and most liberally rewarded their *Foreign Deliverers*, as they termed them.

Executi-
ons.

HAVING all the Money of the Kingdom at their disposal, the Civil Power, and two Armies well appointed, it was no wonder Victory declared on their Side; which they used with the Insolence and Barbarity to be expected from them. If there had been any Disposition to heal the Wounds of a bleeding Nation, here had been a fair Field for so happy an Event. A frank and generous Pardon might have established Tranquility; but this was the Terror of the governing Men, and what they spurned at from their Souls. So they set themselves to execute Rigor, as it were in despite of the Sense, and Wishes of Mankind, and of the Addresses of all those, who might be supposed to have most Credit with the Persecutors. All Application seemed but to whet the Edge of Cruelty, many Parts of the Kingdom became the Scenes of their Butcheries, in cold Blood. The MANNER of one of those was ** New, and without Example*. Several Noble Persons and others, Surrendered to Mercy, having been induced to it, through the Perswasions of the Com-

* Lord Clarendon Hist.

Commanding Officer, who attacked the Town, in which they had unfortunately shut themselves up. One or two of the Prisoners were presently Shot for Example, under Pretence of *Military Justice*, the rest * they reserved to be more Publick Spectacles. They were brought up to *London*, treated with all the Ignominy that could be devised, Condemned, add many of them Executed: And such an Alien to all Gallantry, was the Officer, who perswaded them to Surrender, That either from the Virulence of his own Nature, or his Passion to gratify his Masters or perhaps from both, he misinterpreted the Laws of *Arms* and of *Nations*, as if a *Promise of Mercy* did but exempt the Prisoners from the *Fury of the Soldiers*, or a *Council of War*. However it were, it was an odious Case; and the Sufferers were not more pitied, than he and his Patrons were loaded with Execrations of all Sorts.

NOT content with the many Executions in several Parts of the Kingdom, the *Parliament* seized upon all the Estates of the Delinquents, and appointed a *Commission of Sequestrators*, to enquire into the Effects of the Persons they had a mind should forfeit: This Commission was made up of several of the most *Corrupt* and *Inhuman* of the whole Tribe, and had a Power, almost unlimited, thrown into their Hands, by which they miserably grieved all sorts of People who had any thing to do with them.

* Lord CLARENDON, Vol. III. Pag. 137. & 204, 205, 206.

It is difficult to conceive the gross Abuses these Men were guilty of: Neither the Tears and Cries of innocent, starving Widows and Orphans, the Equity of the Cause, or their own Satiety in Injustice and Severities, could make them relax from their Resolution to do Wrong. They undertook the Employment for that Purpose; and their Consciences and Inclinations were of that Mold, not to give them Leave to receive their Hire for so agreeable a Work, and to do it by Halves.

WHILST they were so happily possess'd of a Rebellion to carry on their Purposes, many Persons of all Ranks were seized, and without any Forms of Law, or knowing their Accusers, and even without any Accusation at all, were detained a long Time in Prison; their Friends and Relations prohibited to come near them, and they not permitted to have common Necessaries: Which Invasion of Men's Rights, was so universally practis'd throughout the Kingdom, it would fill a Volume to enumerate how many Persons and Families were undone by it. I have seen a Manuscript in the Hands of a Nobleman, containing the Names of the Oppressors, and an Account of Thousands of innocent People, many of them Persons of Distinction, who suffered in their Health, Estates, and several who lost their Lives by that illegal Method of Imprisoning, *ad arbitrium*. Which surely was a great Argument, among a Multitude of others, of the dangerous Consequence

quence of breaking in upon the Fences of National Freedom. Not but that it is a prudent Piece of Policy in all Governments, to strengthen themselves by securing the Persons of such Enemies, as Plot their Overthrow: But the Methods those Men made Use of, were wholly unjustifiable, and would have rendered them odious, tho' they had done nothing else, that was bad. For, what else could be said of them and their Proceedings, but that the Conservators of the Liberty of their Countrymen, not only gave up the chief Security thereof, which was the *Habeas-Corpus*; but shewed the Example themselves to others, to strike at the Root of the Constitution?

As the *Army* was their chief Support, they studied all Ways of pleasing the Officers, and subjecting the Common Soldiers to answer their Ends. In order to the first of these, they paid them well, indulged them in all kinds of License, that a victorious Army are prone to; and then, to quiet their Minds against the Fear of Suits or Prosecutions for their Outrages, they kindly gave them a *Bill of Indemnity*, for their sole Use and Protection; and to justify all the Insults and Barbarities they had committed, which were without Number. And when the Country became exhausted by Taxes, and that all Men cried out to have the Army reduced, they fell upon a Scheme to favour their good Friends, and yet seem to comply with the Wishes and Wants of the People; which was to model the

A Standi
Army

Model
the Army
which
called
Ar- bandin

Army so, as to keep up a great Number of Officers, and fewer Soldiers. By which Means, they had a new Opportunity of purging that Body of those they disliked, they gratified their Friends, and still retained the same Power to do Mischief, and continued the same Oppression upon the Country.

Martial
Law in
Time of
Peace.

Mutiny.

ertion.

IN order to subdue the Spirits of the Common Soldiers to all their Uses, they set up *Martial Law*, independent of the Civil Magistrate, and in Times of Peace. This was to act fairly, and take off the Masque at once; since it was in Effect to set up for a Military Government, without further Ceremony. For how averse soever the Soldiers might be to trample upon the Laws and Liberties of their Countrymen, they were by *Martial Law* to be compelled to it: A Refusal to serve for such Purposes, was thereby interpreted *Mutiny*; for which they were instantly to be shot, being deprived of the Benefit of the Laws of the Land, and totally excluded from their Right by *Magna Charta*, to an equal Tryal by a Jury of their Neighbours. And the Hardship was still the greater upon the Common Soldiers, that though their Country should not require their Service, and that they should desire to retreat to their Homes, their Families, or some honest Occupation, it was not in their Power; but they were to be put to Death for *Deserters*, to attempt a Delivery from Idleness and Servitude. Thus, by Virtue of this Law, the Soldier became first enslaved, in
or-

order afterwards to bring the Country under Bondage: Whilst the Officers gained a Dominion, which they abused according to the Tyranny of their Natures, and the Pride of Upstarts; and this, perhaps, might make common Soldiers the more ready to bring their Fellow Subjects into Slavery, that they might all be upon an equal Foot: For the same Purpose, they put the *Militia* under new Regulations, and into the Hands of Men, notorious for Animosity, against the Constitution in *Church* and *State*, or of so little Interest or Stake in their Country, that they might be depended upon, as proper Instruments to bring it into Subjection.

UNDER the Notion of suppressing *Tumults* Tumults and Riots. and *Riots*, they took all Arbitrary Measures to prevent honest Men from meeting and conversing freely together; at the same Time that they encouraged a seditious Number of Fellows in the City, to insult the well-meaning Freemen and Citizens, who they imagined disliked their Proceedings. They dreaded lest the true *English* Spirit should revolt against such Task-Masters; therefore, by that and some other terrible Ordinances, they did, what in them lay, to sink the Genius of the People into that abject Tame-ness, that might make them more easily submit their Necks to the Yoke prepared for them. To this, were added many Examples of their Severity against those, who had fallen under their Displeasure. For they found out a Way of trying them, not in their own Country, where

Illegal Methods of Trying.

their Characters were known, nor in the Places where the Offences were committed; but here in *London*, where none of the *Jury*, perhaps, had ever heard of them, untill called upon for this particular Service; which was a Method against all Rules of common Justice. Neither could it be excused by any pretended Exigences of the State, nor the Evil ballanced by any Advantage those Men could propose from the Breach of the Constitution, in so Fundamental a Point: But they knew they did not deserve to be loved, so they took Care to be feared; as Men, who had Power, and would use it without Regard to God or Man.

The Act for Continuing themselves.

BUT one of the most fatal and confounding Parts of their whole Management, was the Act for *Continuing* themselves; which was since called the Act for the *Perpetual Parliament*. * This was directly contrary to the Intent and Reasons of the † *Triennial Act*, which they had before affected to be so fond of, and which the Nation afterwards had ample Reason to wish had been always preserved Sacred and Inviolable.

IT is not to be represented, what a Flood of Calamities overwhelmed the King and Kingdom, from this accursed Act. Without this, the sworn Managers, could not possibly have gone

* The Act for the *Perpetual Parliament*, as it is called. Pag. 204, *Clar. Fol.* 1st Vol.

† A Bill for the *Triennial Parliament*, passed. Pag. 165, *Clar. Fol.* 1st Vol.

gone through with their Work. Their Power indeed would have lasted too long, but it would have had a Period within *three Years*; and the Fear of their being call'd to Account at the Expiration of that Time, for past Crimes, might have put some Bounds to their Wickedness. But the *lengthening* the *Time* of their *Domination*, enlarged their Views, and they looked upon Justice to be as remote in this, as in another World. Hence, the lowest and meanest Creatures of that Assembly extended their Ambition, copied after their Elders and *Superiors* in *Corruption*, and dreamed of no less, than of swelling into Lords and Peers of the Realm; and hence it happened, that all Methods, how scandalous soever, of acquiring Riches for the Members, were entertained in the House with that Joy and Ardor, which left little or no Room for Contradiction.

HENCE befell, amongst an infinite Number of other Mischiefs, *One* of such a monstrous Nature, it will be an everlasting Blot upon the Sense, as well as the Virtue of the Nation; as it was at that Time a heavy Judgment upon it from Heaven: A general Infatuation seemed to have seized Men; for although many there were, who heartily disliked, both the Thing, and the manner of it, and detested the Iniquity of the *Contrivers*, yet the Parliament passed it in great Gaiety, and found Instruments as wicked as themselves to *execute* it. *Is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur.*

SOME of the chief Actors in that *Black Affair*, were taken untimely away to answer for it else where, before they could be brought to Trial here: Others by *other means*, escaped the Hands of the Ministers of Justice; and indeed all of them found much milder Treatment than they deserved.

BUT this Evil, great as it was, was but one, out of many, that flowed from the Continuance of that CORRUPT Parliament. There were some Wise Men saw the ill Consequence of that *perpetuating Act*, and the Reasons they gave against it, were sufficiently justified by the Sequel of Things: but no Mortal could have foreseen all the Ill it really produced. How terrible then must that Act have been, which was calculated to bring forth many Mischiefs unavoidable from the Nature of it, and which might, as in Truth it did, beget many more, that no Man could have conceived, if they had not happened. It is true, the Bill had the Royal Assent, but his Majesty did not weigh the Consequences of it, and the Craft of the Proposers; nor consider the Blow it gave to his own Prerogative, by investing Men in Power, who could have no Temptation to desire it, but the Purpose to abuse it; which they did to the full, and yet had the Art to load his Majesty as the Author of all those Violences, and to render him the Object of the Popular Rage and Invectives.

IN all this Time that they were heaping Acts one upon another, against the Laws of the Land,
of

of Reason, and Nature, they were also *multi-
plying Taxes* as fast as they could. There was a *Committee of Accounts* (a sad Pack indeed!) whose Trade it was to squander away the *Publick* Money, and to bring the *Publick* still farther into Debt. *Arrears, Services, Deficiencies, Subsidies to Foreigners*, with a thousand other Pretences, were every Day made the Ground for new Impositions upon the poor Country; new Employments were created for their Tools; and Rewards, that is, *Pensions and Bribes*, were scattered up and down, though the Treasury was entirely empty; nay, though the Country was beggared, and Trade, which should bring in Money, was neglected, and wantonly thrown into other Nations. I am told, a Gentleman now living, hath been curious enough, to take an Account of the several Sums those Plunderers lavished away from the Publick, and that the Sums voted for the Service of but one Year, exceeded all that had been given for thrice the same Period, by the most prodigal of their Predecessors; yet that Year was a Year of Peace too, and the People were never so miserably Poor as then.

Increase of
Taxes.Committee of Ac-
counts.

It would puzzle a Man to guess, what Sort of Notions those People at *Westminster* could have. They were eternally told of the Misery of the Country, they heard scarce any thing out of the House, but the Groans of the Suffering People; yet, as soon as they got within *those Walls*, they voted away such prodigious Sums

Sums, at such a merciless Rate, one would think they took it to be the Duty of their Place, to Scourge and Plague the Land.

A Fleet sent
into the
Baltick.

A WAR
against
SPAIN.

How little they considered the Interest of *England*, with respect to Foreign States, appeared * from many Instances. They unseasonably sent a *Fleet*, at vast Expences, into the *Sound*, under Pretence of mediating a Peace between the *Northern Powers*; but they acted the Mediators so ill, it was easily seen they made themselves a Party in the Quarrel. And which was still worse, they joined with *France* in a War against *Spain*, to the Ruin of the Trade and Commerce of *England*, and contrary to all Rules of Policy and good Sense, which at that Time should have engaged them rather to be *Neuters*, or, if they would needs meddle in the War, it should have been, to have raised *Spain* to be a Ballance against the growing Power of the *French Monarchy*; which, though under a Minority, was then likely enough to be one Day a formidable Enemy to *England*. But those unskilful Rulers, cast their Politicks only for the Day, how for the present they might keep their Power and Dominion over their Subjects, and so left Posterity under the many Pressures they had treasured up for them.

IT cannot be thought, but from so long a Train of Abuses and Corruptions, the Parliament

* *Clar*, Vol. 3. p. 170. In the Year 1658, and 1659. *Whitlock* also.

ment must have drawn upon it self great *Odium*. The Nation suffered with Impatience the Tyranny of such a profligate Set, who plainly aimed at nothing less than to ride and vex, and harrafs the three Kingdoms for ever. This seemed the more insupportable, because by the long execution of Power, their Persons became perfectly well known, and of Consequence, grew contemptible. Every Day produced some sharp Pamphlet or other against them: To prevent this, they appointed a *Committee* to find out and Examine Printers and Authors, and, as far as they could, to take away the Liberty of the Press; pursuant to which, several Printers and poor Hawkers were illegally seized and confined, and otherwise severely handled, at the Pleasure of those despicable Tyrants. But this had the usual Effect in such Cases; they were more and more pelted, more and more despised. The Women and Children in the Streets, and their own Footmen in the Lobby of the House, agreed in the same Appellation of them, calling them a COMPANY OF ROGUES. *

A Com
mittee fo
Pamphlets

DIVERS *Widows*, and other *Creditors* † of the *Parliament*. flocked to the House, and in a rude and impetuous Manner, cried out to the Members -- PAY US OUR MONEY ---- JUSTICE --- JUSTICE --- the RUMP --- the RUMP,
F seem-

Clamour
against the
Parliament

* *Whistock* p. 305.

† *Ibid.* 193.

seeming ready to tear their Cloaths from off their Backs; Insomuch, that those who had for so many Years Lorded over the three Kingdoms, were forced to send for Guards for a Defence, against a Parcel of Women. Addressees from most of the considerable Cities and Shires were sent against them, renouncing them for Representatives, and expressing the greatest Abhorrence of their Persons and Actions; until being now grown the Aversion and Scorn of the World, Providence was pleased to dissolve the Charm, that had bound these Nations under the Rule and Discipline of such Wretches.

Parliament
a Con-
empt.

ONE may form an Idea, to what a pitch of Detestation and Contempt that House of Commons was arrived, from hence, that the most unpopular Man in the Kingdom became generally acceptable, only because he treated them as they merited. *He loaded them (as * one of themselves mentions) with the vilest Reproaches, charging them not to have a Heart to do any Thing for the PUBLICK GOOD, to have espoused a CORRUPT INTEREST, &c. the Supporters of Tyranny and Oppression, accusing them of an Intention to PERPETUATE THEMSELVES IN POWER. And when a Principal Member did but mention the Words Morality and common Honesty, the other thought them so improper from his Mouth, he fell into an Exclamation of Contempt, crying out, The Lord deliver me from ----*

ANO-

* ANOTHER of their Writers, who was also of the House, gives much the same Account of that Passage, he relates, That the Person, above hinted at, told the House, That *they had Sate long enough unless they had done more Good, That they were CORRUPT, UNJUST, and SCANDALOUS, &c.* That it *was not fit they should sit, as a Parliament, any longer, with a good deal more to the same Purpose, so he bid them be gone, and all of them tamely departed the House.*

SUCH was the Fate of the memorable *Rump*; upon which, this Author makes several Observations of the Uncertainty of Worldly Things. They afterwards revived a little, and had some glimmering Hopes of their Continuance: but their Hearts were quite broken by a final Dissolution † *to the unspeakable Joy of all the rest of the Kingdom, to whom they had been so long a most uncomely irksome Burthen, and who, notwithstanding their very different Affections, Expectations, and Designs, were unanimous in their Weariness and Detestation of the LONG PARLIAMENT*; which was obvious from the Multitude of Reproachful Addresses against them, and from the Behaviour of the City of *London* towards them a little before they were

Parliament dissolved.

* *Whistock.*

† *Lord Clarendon's Hist.*

Joy there-
upon. were dissolved. For, there could be no Inven-
tion of Fancy, Wit, or Ribaldry, that was
not exercised by the Citizens and their Appren-
tices, to defame them. As soon as the Evening
was come, there was a continual Light of Bonfires
throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an
universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never
been known, and cannot be expressed; with
such ridiculous Signs of Scorn and Contempt of
the Parliament, as testified the No-regard, or
rather, the notable De'estation they had of it;
there being scarce a Bonfire, at which they did
not roast a Rump, and Pieces of Flesh made
like one, " which they said, was for the CE-
LEBRATION OF THE FUNERAL OF THE
PARLIAMENT. 28 MR 59

F I N I S.

